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Directed Qualitative Content Analysis (DQICA): A Tool for Conflict Analysis

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Abstract

Qualitative Content Analysis (QICA) is a research methodology carried on in either an inductive or deductive way. The former way is widely used by qualitative researchers and is more presented in qualitative research manuals than the latter is. While in the inductive approach, the researcher draws categories/themes from data she collected to start her research, in the deductive, aka, directed approach, she rather draws them from (an) existing theory/ies to set up the categories/themes that guide her research. The deductive or directed qualitative content analysis (DQICA) is used to test, to corroborate the pertinence of the theory/ies guiding the study or to extend the application of the theory/ies to contexts/cultures other than those in which that/those theory/ies was/were developed. It is more used by quantitative researchers than by qualitative ones. And while using it, these create their data. This article aims at reducing the above holes in the qualitative research tradition by proposing an 8-step DQICA within three phases (Study Preparation, Data Analysis, and Results' Reporting) to respond to the same purposes with data not created by the researcher. Some appendixes provide, in tables/displays, illustrations to serve as models to inspire conflict analyst researchers who choose DQICA as their research methodology.

Keywords

Qualitative Content Analysis, Directed Content Analysis, Conflict Analysis

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Directed Qualitative Content Analysis (DQICA): A Tool for Conflict Analysis

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Qualitative Content Analysis (QICA) is a research methodology carried on in either an inductive or deductive way. The former way is widely used by qualitative researchers and is more presented in qualitative research manuals than the latter is. While in the inductive approach, the researcher draws categories/themes from data she collected to start her research, in the deductive, aka, directed approach, she rather draws them from (an) existing theory/ies to set up the categories/themes that guide her research. The deductive or directed qualitative content analysis (DQICA) is used to test, to corroborate the pertinence of the theory/ies guiding the study or to extend the application of the theory/ies to contexts/cultures other than those in which that/those theory/ies was/were developed. It is more used by quantitative researchers than by qualitative ones. And while using it, these create their data. This article aims at reducing the above holes in the qualitative research tradition by proposing an 8-step DQICA within three phases (Study Preparation, Data Analysis, and Results' Reporting) to respond to the same purposes with data not created by the researcher. Some appendixes provide, in tables/displays, illustrations to serve as models to inspire conflict analyst researchers who choose DQICA as their research methodology. Keywords: Qualitative Content Analysis, Directed Content Analysis, Conflict Analysis

Introduction

Qualitative Content Analysis (QICA) is a research methodology or a procedure of systematic analysis and interpretation of contents of texts (words, phrases, statements, communications, documents, etc.), images (photos, video, etc.) or any other reality without involving any number or quantification (Mayring, 2000). QICA may be carried on either inductively or deductively. This article presents the latter way, i.e., the Deductive, aka, Directed Qualitative Content Analysis (DQICA), which is less described in qualitative research manuals. It draws from my 2014 PhD research in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University, in Florida/USA. In fact, as I wanted to check whether or not Stephen van Evera's hypotheses on war-causing nationalism were relevant to the context of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's (DRC) persistent armed conflict, I resorted to the DQICA to decipher contending behaviors of some warring actors in documents and other written materials that report that conflict. I took inspiration from the approach to Qualitative Content Analysis (QICA) recommended and outlined by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), Elo and Kyngäs (2008), Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), and Mayring (2000) to craft the schema I present below. Indeed, Wildemuth (2009, p. 158) states that written documents reveal their authors' purposes or motivations for action and traces of their behavior as accurately and completely as interviews conducted with them would do. While theory/ies testing content analysis research mostly use quantitative data, my intention in this article is to provide qualitative researchers, especially conflict analysts, with a short schema they may use to test or verify (a) theory/ies, i.e., to confirm or disconfirm it/them using qualitative data.

To proceed, I first provide the reader in this introduction with basic information on QICA, its inductive and deductive approaches and I give indications as to when to resort to any of these two approaches to QICA. Then I describe the eight steps of deductive/directed QICA grouped within three main phases I propose to qualitative researchers. Finally, I conclude.

Qualitative Content Analysis (QICA)

Some scholars have noticeably inspired my path to crafting my approach to QICA, especially, Elo and Kyngäs (2008), and Hsieh and Shannon (2005). Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1278) define QICA “as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns.” Elo and Kyngäs (2008, pp. 108-109) recommend QICA as it is a flexible method for making valid inferences from data in order to provide new insights, describe a phenomenon through concepts or categories, and develop an understanding of the meaning of communications with a concern for intentions, consequences, and context. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) schematize the process of QICA, while Hsieh and Shannon (2005) give guidelines of the process in prose. Some other scholars have defined QICA or provided some insights and schemas of QICA that have influenced the process set forth in this article. These authors include Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), Graneheim and Lundman (2004), Mayring (2000), Patton (2002), Weber (1985), Miles and Huberman (1994), Tesch (1990), and Lewins and Silver (2006).

Inductive vs. Deductive QICA

In inductive content analysis, categories used in the study are directly drawn from data collected. In other words, study categories are data-driven, according to Boyatzis (1998). The researcher starts the analysis by reading the data and identifying themes from data, and then initial categories are created to reflect those initial data-based themes. These themes are then applied on the rest of data. They may later undergo change according to new themes discovered during the analysis. Patton (2002, p. 453) states that inductive analysis “involves discovering patterns, themes, and categories in one’s data.” For Elo and Kyngäs (2008, p. 109), inductive analysis moves from specific observed instances, which are combined later into a general statement in a process that includes open coding, or noting and writing headings in the data while reading them, creating categories, and abstraction on the basis of the data read. In inductive analysis, or conventional content analysis, as Hsieh and Shannon (2005) name it, a researcher first immerses her/himself in the data and then draws categories and their names from data collected through repeated reading of the data (Hsieh & Shannon 2005, p. 1279). Crabtree and Miller (1999) refer to this approach of text analysis as the editing style in the interpretive process of qualitative data analysis. They agree, along with Elo and Kyngäs (2008) and Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p. 309) that “the two approaches are not mutually exclusive and can be used in combination.” This idea is not in contradiction with Mayring’s (2000) schemas of both approaches and Berg’s (2001) position.

Yet, the deductive content analysis starts in a different organizing style (Crabtree & Miller 1992/1999) compared to the inductive approach. In it, the researcher begins by determining a device, which Mayring (2000) names ‘coding agenda,’ that guides the researcher’s journey through the data collection and analysis. As the analysis is not data-driven, it is that coding agenda, coding scheme, or template that determines categories and coding rules or definitions of themes that govern the assignment of each deductive category to a text passage that fits the theory (Boyatzis, 1998; Mayring, 2000). In other words, the

researcher's analysis and interpretation of data collected are basically guided by categories and themes that the researcher had defined prior to the data collection. This activity is carried out according to (an) existing theory/es to be tested or verified. Referring to Potter and Levine-Donnerstein (1999) among others, Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1286) state, "the researcher uses existing theory or prior research to develop the initial coding scheme prior to the beginning of the data analysis. As analysis proceeds, additional codes are developed, and the initial coding scheme is revised and refined." Referring to Burns and Grove, they add, this "approach is based on an earlier theory or model and therefore it moves from the general to the specific" (Elo & Kyngäs 2008, p. 109). In deductive analysis, Patton (2002, p. 453) states, "data are analyzed according to an existing framework." Sandelowski (1995, p. 375) thinks that this approach that she calls "*a priori* framework" is a disciplined manner of approaching and organizing data for analysis, while Crabtree and Miller (1999, pp. 21-24) named it an "*a priori* template analysis" or "template organizing style" of text data.

Choice Between Inductive and Deductive QICA

About the choice between these approaches to QICA and the process of leading them, most of the authors mentioned above leave it to the researcher's decision in accordance with the research design, goals, and questions. Citing Marshall and Rossman among other authors, Elo and Kyngäs (2008, p. 111) affirm that the choice of the approach to use "depends upon the aim of the study." They also suggest resorting to the inductive analysis when the current knowledge about a phenomenon is limited or fragmented. They assert, "Deductive content analysis is often used in cases where the researcher wishes to retest existing data in a new context" (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, pp. 109, 111). Hsieh and Shannon (2005, pp. 1279, 1281-1283) recommend also the inductive approach when the study aims at describing a phenomenon, developing concepts, building models, or when existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited. In contrast, they recommend the directed content analysis when the researcher wants to extend a theory in a context or a situation different from the one in which that theory was developed, to provide supporting or non-supporting evidence for an existing theory (e.g., to validate the theory), to complete the description of a phenomenon already theorized or to use the existing theory to guide the discussion on the research findings. Likewise, Crabtree and Miller (1999) recommend the deductive approach, aka, *a priori* template organizing style of data analysis to "researchers wishing to confirm an already well-defined hypothesis" (p. 164). Concerning the research process, scholars do not prescribe one particular process to conduct either the inductive or the deductive approach to qualitative content analysis. According to Krippendorff (1980) and Weber (1985), who are among the earliest theoreticians of content analysis, there is no universal content analysis schema, but there are each discipline-focused rule and each investigator's styles in doing content analysis.

As for the methodology I put forward in this article, it belongs to the group of deductive qualitative content analysis processes outlined by Mayring (2000), Hsieh and Shannon (2005), and, especially, Elo and Kyngäs (2008). It is a simple description of a textual analysis I led on a number of books, articles, reports, and other types communications in written form that contain information about the DRC conflict and statements from some conflict's main actors. The aim of the study was to confirm or disconfirm the relevance of some existing theories, especially Stephen van Evera's hypotheses on war-causing nationalism, in explaining the intractability of the DRC conflict. If confirmed, the application of those European-based explanations of persistent fights would therefore be expanded to African contexts where they were not initially developed. And the end result was to provide alternate valid explanations to those so far put forward by the United Nations, humanitarian

organizations, human rights activists who held that only the illegal exploitation of the DRC natural resources explained the continuing fights in that country. In accordance with the above scholars' advice, using the deductive qualitative approach to lead that study was appropriate. I exclusively resorted to pre-existing written documents because, as a DRC insider, I could not safely lead interviews with the conflict key actors (more information about the context and rationale for the use of the DQICA in Kibiswa, pp. 32-40).

The DQICA's Phases and Steps

I hereafter suggest to qualitative researchers a three-phase and eight-step schema of textual analysis that unfolds in iterative and non-linear way inspired by schemas described by Elo and Kyngäs (2008). In those steps the researcher integrates activities suggested by other QICA scholars, including Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), Hsieh and Shannon (2005), Miles and Huberman (1994), Boyatzis (1998), and Crabtree and Miller (1992/1999). The schema includes developing the study's framework and operational definitions, determining the unit of analysis and sampling materials to be analyzed, getting a sense of the data (The Preparation Phase), coding and organizing the data, making connections, interpreting them, and drawing conclusions; verifying interpretations plausibility and discussing trustworthiness (The Data Analysis Phase), and making an appropriate outline for a detailed presentation of the research and finally making a thick description of the research process and findings (The Reporting Phase). The researcher may use, where possible, software, especially during the coding process.

Phase One: Early Steps of Analysis or the Preparation Phase

Step 1: Developing the study's frame and operational definitions. This first step of the DQICA process consists of "reading and contemplating theory," according to Boyatzis (1998, p. 36), that is, identifying themes and subthemes within the theory/ies the researcher intends to test or verify. It is also about categorizing those theory-based themes in a tool, the study's structured analysis matrix, that is, the study's coding agenda. Certainly, the researcher will have to read books or articles containing that or those established theory/ies she wants to test. In addition, the researcher develops an operational coding frame containing definitions she attaches to each code and sub-code. These codes and subcodes and their corresponding definitions based on theory-based theme and subtheme, category and subcategory will later lead the researcher's work in subsequent steps of the analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring 2000; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Appendixes 1A and 1B present examples from a coding frame and an operational coding agenda respectively: they display 2 categories/themes and 2 subcategories/ subthemes I drew from Stephen van Evera's (1998) theories on nationalism and war that I tested and expanded to the context of the DRC's unending armed conflicts (See Details in Kibiswa, 2015).

As one can see in Appendix 1A, a coding frame would be a diagram with columns (here 5 columns) bearing each elements to guide the study: (1) short statement/s drawn from/about the theory/ies to be tested + their symbols; (2) categories/themes/codes created by the researcher from theory/ies; (3) Subthemes/subcategories/subcodes created by the researcher from theory/ies; (4) Operational definitions for themes and subthemes; and (5) Symbols or flags for each code/subcode to attach to each meaning unit in texts read. The same logic applies to an operational coding agenda (a kind of summary of the coding frame; here 2 columns) containing the list of themes/subthemes, or categories/subcategories) flag or alphanumerical symbol corresponding to each category/theme and subcategory and to be

assigned to meanings units in texts read. As to those diagram lines, each of them has as many lines as the number of subcategories/subthemes created from the theory/ies.

In such a study, a theme is, according to Graneheim and Lundman (2004), “a thread of an underlying meaning through condensed meaning units, codes or categories, on an interpretative level... an expression of the latent content of the text” (p. 107). And a meaning unit is, according to Patterson and Williams (2002), “an idea complete and coherent enough that it can be focused on separately” (p. 47) within the context of the text under consideration. Operational definitions explain under what circumstances a text passage or a chunk could be classified into a category or a subcategory during the themes identification process. For practical reasons, the researcher should assign to each theme and subtheme a color to represent that theme or subtheme in order to easily differentiate it from others along the reading process (Burnard, 1996).

Step 2: Determining the unit of analysis and sampling materials to be analyzed.

After she has developed the study’s frame based on the theory/ies to be tested and definitions of the basic concept of the study, the researcher needs to decide what or whom to analyze in order to reach the study’s goal. Such a decision involves determining the unit of analysis and the appropriate portion of the population of all sources of data, that is, the sample of those units to be analyzed. Concerning the unit of analysis, Graneheim and Lundman (2004) suggest that it should be a whole text which is large enough to be considered as a whole and small enough to be kept in mind as a context for the meaning unit during the analysis process. As to the meaning unit, *aka* textual unit, it is a chunk or text passage of the whole text under consideration, which may be a word (though rarely), a phrase, a sentence, or a paragraph of that text that conveys aspects of a given theme of the study (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005;). It is to be understood here that units of analysis are those identifiable and discrete elements of the sample of the population of materials to be analyzed one by one by the researcher to reach the study’s goals, while meaning units are parts of the content of units of analysis pertinent to the study.

In practice, with the above basic concepts in mind, the researcher decides what materials she will analyze and to what extent. According to Marshall and Rossman’s (2006), “the raw material for content analysis ... may be any form of communication, usually written materials (textbooks, novels, newspapers, email messages) ...music, pictures, or political speeches [,] [etc.]” (p. 108). Babbie (2010) suggests also suitable materials for content analysis, among others, books, magazines, Web pages, letters, postings on Internet, laws, constitutions, etc. So does O’Leary (2004). When the study relates to the discipline of peace and conflict studies, the researcher will target materials that relate to that field. As the analysis is deductive, the sampling strategy must be purposive, theory-guided, and case confirming/disconfirming (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Kuzel, 1999; Patton, 2002). In other words, contents of the materials need to match or to challenge theory-based themes and subthemes that guide the study. She will thus progressively collect books, newspapers and journals’ articles, reports, letters, diaries, interview records, and any other Internet-based communications with contents that may support or challenge the study’s goal, which would confirm or disconfirm the relevance of theories espoused. The end result of this step is a list of materials sampled for consideration: Appendix 2 presents an example of a list of materials I read to test the van Evera’s nationalism and war theory in the DRC conflict).

On the other hand, the analyst should consider some other precautions. As this is about qualitative research, the selection of the materials is to be led neither by ideas of the quantitative representativeness of the sample nor the generalizability of the study findings, but the qualitative richness and depth of the information relevant to the study goal (Boyatzis, 1998; Kuzel, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The qualitative research is not about counting

the number of texts to analyze, nor about counting the occurrence of themes within texts in order to draw conclusions. Rather, it is about locating in texts considered contents or features that match themes or subthemes described in template theories. Indeed, numbers do not matter in qualitative research. To achieve maximum variation sampling, that is, hunting for negative variations, while remaining within the boundaries and the frame set up for the study, the sampling process is to be iterative between the data collection and data analysis. In other words, the researcher is to be investigative: she needs to remain open, alert, and ready to include in the sample any new document whenever necessary by working in progressive waves as the study progresses (Kuzel, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Wildemuth & Cao, 2009). The researcher needs to keep in mind that there is not a size rule for qualitative content analysis samples even if Kuzel (1999), recommends 20 documents maximum when the researcher works “for disconfirming evidence or trying to achieve maximum variation” (p. 42).

Step 3: Getting a sense of the data. During this step the researcher immerses herself in the collected data. She starts searching and locating in each sampled material themes and subthemes she categorized in the first step: the theme identification from the data. She thus reads literally (Mason, 2002; Miller & Crabtree, 1999) a first group of materials collected in order to immerse in the data and to get a sense or make sense of them (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Patton, 2002). While reading a selected text, the researcher progressively highlights all chunks whose latent or manifest contents are identical, close or similar to theory-based themes and/or subthemes listed in the coding scheme of to the study. In other words, she colors all text passages that express or contain same ideas as themes/subthemes from theories, using the color she assigned to each theme or subtheme, as I advise in step 1. After working on a certain amount of selected materials, the researcher decides whether she needs to collect more materials as the process is iterative, that is, the researcher goes back and forth within a text and across many texts read (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Hsieh & Shannon 2005; Ryan & Bernard 2003). The end result/s or physical product/s of this first back-and-forth reading-analyzing process should be (a) text(s) or (a)document(s) containing those texts’ meaning units visibly highlighted with color/s (yellow, red, blue, etc.) chosen and assigned beforehand by the researcher for/to each theory-based theme/subtheme. Appendix 3 provides an example of the end result of that process of theory-based theme identification in materials collected and read: in this example drawn from the DR Congo’s armed conflict, it is an Internet newspaper’s article describing the outbreak of an armed mutiny by General Bosco Ntaganda who finished his race in the International Criminal Court in The Hague, Netherlands.

Phase Two: In-Depth Steps of Analysis or the Data Analysis Phase

Step 4: Data coding and organizing. Along this step, the researcher re-reads materials interpretatively and reflexively (Mason 2002; Miller & Crabtree 1999) to organize the result of her readings for the ensuing treatment. In practice, she assigns codes and/or subcodes predefined in the operational coding agenda to each previously highlighted chunk, that is, meaning unit within each text read. Codes/subcodes are put in parentheses or brackets besides each chunk. While coding these meaning units, she is to comply with codes/subcodes’ operational definitions within the operational coding agenda. Such a process yields (a) document/s with (a) page/s that has/ve colored text passages having each beside it a code/subcode which matches its operational definition within the operational coding agenda, as illustrated in Appendix 4 (the same text in Appendix 3). Then, the researcher creates a *Reading Summary Form* for each material read and transcribes within that form all highlighted and coded chunks from that material, as shown in Appendix 4A. This appendix

displays some coded text passages from the text presented in Appendix 4 with two new specific columns. One column indicates, for future purposes, the exact location of each coded passage in the material read and the other gives an idea of the context of the event described in that coded passage. In the “associated context” column the researcher goes beyond the mere analysis of chunk: she actually opens the interpretation of the data collected. To make things easier for the analyst, I recommend that a blog, a website, a newspaper magazine be each treated as a single book: all texts drawn from one of them should be assembled within one “Reading Summary Form” as it is done for a book

Beside the reading summary form and in efforts for data reduction (Miles & Huberman 1994) the researcher creates *Thematically Clustered Matrices* (TCM). A TCM groups into one form all chunks of a text read that match the operational definition of a predefined operational theme/subtheme. In addition, she pinpoints text passages that challenge the template the theory and sets aside all highlighted chunks that challenge the predefined operational theme. These are negative cases against which she will evaluate conclusions to be drawn in the following step. So, using the same example of the text no. 1 in the Bany2 nationalism study in the DRC, Appendix 4B displays some chunks that match the definition of the operational theme “Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty” (In-Text Code: 111/PEL) of Bany2 soldiers. In that appendix, the “observation” column shows a negative case: it challenges the “Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty” operational theme. The minus sign [-] set before the in-text code symbolizes that negative characteristic of the case (see code [-111/PEL] which means a negative case to the code 111) in Appendix 4B.

Step 5: Making connections, interpreting them, and drawing conclusions. Here the researcher goes beyond the obvious and make the hidden obvious (Patton, 2002), that is, he generates meaning, make inferences from dispersed data at her disposal, and goes deeper in what data are suggesting, including by building logical chain of evidences, contrasting/comparing text passages with theory-based themes/subthemes and between them at both manifest and latent content levels, and offering explanations consistent with settings from which data were derived (Babbie, 2010; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994; O’Leary, 2004; Patton, 2002; Priest, Roberts, & Woods, 2002). The work in this step may involve determining possible new themes/subthemes from highlighted passages that do not fit into any predefined category/subcategory (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) and thus enriching/refining template theories (Hsieh & Shannon 2005). The end result/s of this step is/are narratives in the form of prose even though the researcher may have started her work by some *Contrast/Compare Matrices* of meaning units within themes, as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994) and shown in Appendix 5. Indeed, in the example provided to show the relevance of Evera’s nationalism to the DRC conflict, Appendix 5 provides some preliminary analyses of meaning units collected under the operational theme 111/PEL (Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty). Then the researcher makes in short prose second level analysis beneath the display: she gives her interpretations and understandings of the data she presented in the display and connects them to others elsewhere, especially in order to make explicit latent content and to make sense out of the data (Merriam, 2001; Miles & Huberman 1994).

Step 6: Verifying interpretations plausibility and ensuring trustworthiness. The researcher explains the study findings and provides details about the process that led to those findings along with their limitations and strengths. For that end, she provides, where necessary, quotations, appendices, tables, etc. to support interpretations made and conclusions drawn. These enable the reader to make her own judgment about those findings’ transferability, dependability, and confirmability as recommended by Merriam (2001) as well as Zhang and Wildemuth (2009). Indeed, qualitative study results’ trustworthiness rests in the reader’s judgment (Merriam, 2001; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, pp. 313-314). To increase

trustworthiness when data are essentially drawn from documents, the researcher will make sure in the preparation phase that each sampled material is preferably an entire authored writing, that is, written by an identifiable author (a physical person, an identifiable group, organization, or institution) in order to be referred to as whole. She can also use Miles and Huberman's (1994) tactics for verifying findings, which include checking the meaning of outliers, using extreme cases, negative evidences, rival explanations etc. to challenge her interpretations or conclusions, and then provide reasons why she holds on her explanations (Hsieh & Shannon 2005; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). As in the previous step, most of this step is written in narrative form. As an illustration in the example of van Evera's nationalism in the DRC conflict, Appendix 6, *Verification Matrix* provides clues of negative case and rival explanations for the operational theme "Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty" (111/PEL) in the behavior of some Banyarwanda soldiers.

Phase Three: Reporting the Analysis Process and Results or the Final Phase

Step 7: Making an appropriate outline for a detailed presentation. This step includes the initial research plan and a list of steps of the whole research as it unfolded from its beginning to its end. Needless to say, the plan and steps undergo multiple alterations during the research process to include unforeseen situations at the onset of the work. Also, the analyst should give care to the findings' presentation outline: this, in general, mirrors the study's coding scheme or the operational one to take into account changes stemming from the merging of similar themes/subthemes (Frankel, 1999; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Merriam, 2001).

Step 8: Thick description of the research history and findings. This is the descriptive account of the whole research. It may contain, beside a text in prose, displays/matrices and maps providing important details and quotes, and embedded quotes, where evidence is needed in support of a theme (Creswell, 2007; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Merriam, 2001; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002).

Conclusion

I have described in this article a specific schema for doing qualitative content analysis, the directed or deductive qualitative content analysis (DQICA) in a realm mostly dominated by the inductive (IQICA) way. The schema was informed by my own experience, my doctoral research in the conflict resolution field that aimed at testing the relevance of existing theories, namely van Evera's war causing nationalism theories, developed in the global north and extending their application to the global south, especially the DRC deadly conflict case. Apart from using the deductive way of qualitative content analysis and contrary to the data collection methodology described in most content analysis qualitative research manuals, I exclusively used pre-written documents to craft the schema. In other words, I did not create my own data as do most qualitative researchers, but used pre-existing ones. Certainly, using existing theories, as template theories and building on the Elo and Kyngäs' (2008), Mayring's (2000), Hsieh and Shannon's (2005), Zhang and Wildemuth's (2009) approaches to qualitative content analysis I crafted the present three-phase and eight-step schema of DQICA that I used in my PhD research. It includes developing the study's framework and operational definitions; determining the unit of analysis and sampling materials to be analyzed getting a sense of the data (Preparation Phase), coding and organizing the data; making connections, interpreting them, and drawing conclusions; verifying interpretations plausibility and discussing trustworthiness (Data Analysis Phase), and making an appropriate outline for a detailed presentation of the research and finally making a thick description of the research process and findings (Reporting Phase).

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Appendices

Appendix 1A: An Abridged Example of a Study's « Coding Frame/Coding Scheme¹ »

Theories	Themes/Categories/ Codes	Subthemes/ Subcategories/ Subcodes	Meanings/Operational Definitions	Flags or In- Text codes
1. Hypotheses on Nationalism and War (HNW) (3 themes/ categories and 7 subthemes/ subcategories)	1.1. Basic Element (BE)	1.1.1. Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty (PEL)	Action/Behavior/speech or writing that suggests a person/group's tendency to side/team/work with or give priority to ethnic relatives/relationships and/or abide by these irrespective to other responsibilities/memberships and even to the detriment of the latter (e.g., duties toward or relationships with the nation)	111 and/o r PEL
	1.2. War-Causing Nationalism (WCN)	1.2.1. State-seeking nationalism (SSN)	Action/behavior/speech or writing that reveals a person/group's yearn for a territory possession or for the highest level of control over any geographic space on the basis of her/its identity	121 and/o r SSN
		1.2.2. Hegemonistic nationalism (HN)	Action/behavior/discourse or writing which suggests or betrays the will of a person or group to have an ongoing right to govern/direct others on the basis of his or her ethnic identity, and even to deny that right to others or and continually withholds it on the same basis	122 and/o r HN

¹ This table is an abridged version of the general guiding tool of the DQICA used by Kibiswa (2015, pp. 65-85) for the DRC conflict. It displays in its columns brief statements of the theory/ies under consideration (1st column), theory-based categories/themes and their respective codes (2nd column), theory-based subcategories/subthemes and their respective subcodes (3rd column), meanings or definitions of each subcategory/subtheme, i.e., criteria to identify a passage of a text read as belonging to that subcategory or subtheme (4th column) and the alphanumeric code to be assigned to a text passage when it falls into the corresponding subcategory/subtheme. Indeed, in the study I led to expand van Evera's nationalism and war theory to the context of the DRC, a code in the study has three numbers and 3 letters separated by a slash sign, as shown in the 5th column of this table. Numbers respectively represent the theory, the theme, and subtheme drawn from the theory/ies while letters are abbreviations created from brief statements of theory-based subthemes. The last three columns of the table make up the study's operational coding agenda (see Table 1B below)

Appendix 1B: Operational Coding Agenda/Coding Frame²

Operational Themes/Categories for Identifying Themes In Texts Read		In text Codes/Flags
Operational Themes/Categories	Operational Definitions/Meanings	
Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty (PEL)	Action/behavior/speech or writing suggesting a tendency to behave according to ethnic relatives/relationships/interests	111/PEL
State-seeking nationalism (SSN)	Action/speech or writing one's yearn for a territory possession or state power on the basis of her identity	121/SSN
Hegemonistic nationalism (HN)	Action/behavior/discourse or writing which suggests or betrays the will of a person or group to have an ongoing right to govern/direct others on the basis of his or her ethnic identity, and even to deny that right to others or and continually withholds it on the same basis	122/HN

Appendix 2: An Abridged Example of a « List of Text Materials Sampled for Consideration »

No.	Material Title	Author/Year	Genre	Language
1	Congo Siasa : The Bosco Mutiny Sputters on	Stearns, Jason K. (2012)	Blog Articles	English
2	United Nations' Reports of the Group of Experts (UNSC-GoEs) on the Democratic Republic of the Congo	UNSC-GoEs ³ (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)	Report	English/French
3				
4	Les Banyamulenge (Congo-Zaire) Entre Deux Guerres	Ruhimbika, Manassé (2001)	Book	French
5	Banyarwanda et Banyamulenge : Violences ethniques et gestion de l'Identitaire au Kivu	Willame, Jean-Claude (1997)	Book	French
6	Les Populations du Kivu et la Loi sur la Nationalité : Vraie et Fausse Problématique	Kanyamachumbi (Mgr), Patient (1993)	Book	French
7	Journal Minembwe Press	Muhoza, Akim/Achim	Blog Articles	French/English
8	Le Potentiel	Mutinga, Modeste	Newspaper Articles	French
9	Red Pepper Online	Rugyendo, Arinaitwe	Newspaper Articles	English
10	Rwanda's Responses to United Nations' Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)	Government of Rwanda (2008/2012)	Reports	English

Appendix 3: Example of a Result of Themes Identification in a Text Material Read (Text 1⁴)

²This is the practical guide of the study, that is, the tool bearing the three elements of the coding scheme/frame that the researcher mostly uses to identify/locate theory-based subthemes within text materials along the coding and organizing step. Like in the coding frame of the study led in the DRC, its last column bears a six digit alphanumerical code that the analyst places beside each chunk whose latent or manifest content meets the operational definition put forward for the subtheme in its second column. Unlike in the coding frame/scheme, in this display, subtheme/subcategory are treated as practical theme/category for in-text theme identification, aka, in-text theme coding. A code has to be put as a flag beside each text passage whose latent or manifest content matches the corresponding definition in the display in the material analyzed

³United Nations Security Council's Group of Experts

Tuesday, April 24, 2012

*The Bosco-led Mutiny Sputters on*⁵

While Bosco Ntaganda's mutiny seems to have largely backfired, with many of the troops re-defecting back to the government and over a dozen senior officers now under arrest, it is not yet over. While the names and positions of the commanders may seem confusing, the gist of it is this: A hard core of ex-CNDP (and some ex-PARECO) around Bosco has not been dissuaded, and the assassination of a two high-ranking loyalist officers has soured relations further with the national army.

Defections toward Bosco

Over the weekend, several additional officers deserted army ranks to join Bosco in his Masisi fiefdom, including Col Baudouin Ngaruye. Col Baudouin (ex-CNDP, Masisi) had been the sector commander in Masisi and is known as a staunch Bosco loyalist. Nonetheless, as the mutiny sputtered out, he had come to Goma and had agreed to be redeployed to South Kivu - the army had even given him a new stockpile of ammunition. Then, as he was driving on the road to Bukavu, he took a right instead of following the lake, and ended up joining Bosco - ammunition and all - in Masisi.

In addition, the ex-CNDP former 811th regiment commander Col Innocent Zimurinda (ex-CNDP, Masisi) finally also defected after having been stuck in Goma. He is now also reported to be back in Masisi, although most of his troops - which were based in Kitchanga, northern Masisi - have joined the loyalists and one of his battalion commanders, Col Kashawara, is under arrest. A battalion commander from southern Masisi, Col Mutoni (ex-CNDP), has also joined Bosco with some troops.

Meanwhile, a key player behind the scenes of the mutiny, Col Sultani Makenga (ex-CNDP, Rutshuru) - who used to hold the deputy command position for South Kivu operations - is also the center of some speculation. He is back in Goma, allegedly after having traded insults with his commanding officer Col Delphin Kahimbi. However, his bodyguards took the road along the lake and were ambushed in Nyabibwe. Some are now saying that the ambush was intended for Makenga himself. Makenga is one of the most influential figures in the ex-CNDP leadership.

(...)

POSTED BY JASON STEARNS AT 10:31 PM APRIL 25, 2012 4:16 AM
<http://congosiasa.blogspot.com/2012/04/bosco-led-mutiny-sputters-on.html>

⁴This is the rank of this text (The Bosco-led Mutiny Sputters on) on the "List of Materials Sampled for Consideration"

⁵This is only an excerpt of the text material (Text 1, or T1) sampled for analysis in the study.

Appendix 4: Example of Results of Themes Coding in a Material Read (cf. Text 1)

Tuesday, April 24, 2012

*The Bosco-led Mutiny Sputters on*⁶

While Bosco Ntaganda's mutiny seems to have largely backfired, with many of the troops re-defecting back to the government [-111⁷] and over a dozen senior officers now under arrest, it is not yet over. While the names and positions of the commanders may seem confusing, the gist of it is this: A hard core of ex-CNDP (and some ex-PARECO) around Bosco has not been dissuaded [111], and the assassination of a two high-ranking loyalist officers has soured relations further with the national army.

Defections toward Bosco

Over the weekend, several additional officers deserted army ranks to join Bosco [111] in his Masisi fiefdom [121], including Col Baudouin Ngaruye. Col Baudouin (ex-CNDP, Masisi) had been the sector commander in Masisi and is known as a staunch Bosco loyalist. Nonetheless, as the mutiny sputtered out, he had come to Goma and had agreed to be redeployed to South Kivu [111/-111/121] - the army had even given him a new stockpile of ammunition [135]. Then, as he was driving on the road to Bukavu, he took a right instead of following the lake, and ended up joining Bosco [321/111] - ammunition and all - in Masisi [135].

In addition, the ex-CNDP former 811th regiment commander Col Innocent Zimurinda (ex-CNDP, Masisi) finally also defected [111] after having been stuck in Goma. He is now also reported to be back in Masisi [121], although most of his troops - which were based in Kitchanga, northern Masisi - have joined the loyalists [-111] and one of his battalion commanders, Col Kashawara, is under arrest [133]. A battalion commander from southern Masisi, Col Mutoni (ex-CNDP), has also joined Bosco with some troops [111].

(...)

POSTED BY JASON STEARNS AT 10:31 PM APRIL 25, 2012 4:16 AM
<http://congosiasa.blogspot.com/2012/04/bosco-led-mutiny-sputters-on.html>

Appendix 4A: Example of a Reading Summary Form (cf. Text 1)

Reading Summary Form 1 (RSF1)

Date.....to.....

Material Title/Author... The Bosco-led Mutiny Sputters on.. by...Jason K Stearns.....

Type of Material/Other Specifications.../Web BlogTexts.....

Sheet page...1..of..2...

In-Text ⁸ location Page/Para	Text Passages/Meaning Units/Chunks from Text no. 1	Code/Sub code	Associated Context/Backg round	Obs.
P.1/Para.	...troops re-defecting back to the government	-111/PEL	This is an	-

⁶This is an excerpt of the text material no. 1 on the "List of Text Materials Sampled for Consideration" (see Appendix 2) (Text 1, or T1).

⁷ A negative numeral code means that the coded passage or text unit can be interpreted as a negative evidence of that code definition in the coding frame. It suggests a rival explanation to the theory put forward in the study.

⁸In this display, this column records the page number (p.) and/or the paragraph (Para. or §) where the text passage/chunk is located in the text material/document read while the "Associated Context" column gives some hints about the meaning and/or the situation of the incident described by the chunk under consideration.

1			opposite move to the general pattern of Bany2 militia	111=negative evidence to code 111
P.1/Para. 1	A hard core of ex-CNDP (and some ex-PARECO) around Bosco has not been dissuaded	111/PEL		
P.1/Para. 7	For some years, a key obstacle to army reform has been the reluctance of some Kivu-based armed groups - the CNDP and FRF in particular - to be deployed outside of their home region.	121/SSN 111/PEL	Reference to the Bany2 soldiers' general pattern of refusing to leave the Kivus to go and serve in other provinces	

Appendix 4B: Example of a Thematically Clustered Meaning Units Display

Thematically Clustered Matrix (TCM) for Code/Subcode ... PEL/111...

Material Title/Author.... The Bosco-led Mutiny Sputters On... by Jason K. Stearns.....

Type of Mat/Other Specifications... Web Blog Text.....

Sheet/page...1 of 1...

Chunk Analytical Identifier⁹	Chunk/Meaning Unit from Text no. 1	In-Text location	Associated Context/Background	Obs.
4B/001/01	...troops re-defecting back to the government	Para. 1	The author refers to some rebel soldiers' return into the national army's ranks, an opposite move to Bany2 soldiers' general pattern	- 111/PEL negative evidence to PEL
4B/001/02	A hard core of ex-CNDP (and some ex-PARECO) around Bosco has not been dissuaded	Para. 1	The author notes that the above move didn't dissuade all Bany2 soldiers	
4B/001/03	Over the weekend, several additional officers deserted army ranks to join Bosco in his Masisi fiefdom, including Col Baudouin Ngaruye. Col. Baudouin (ex-CNDP, Masisi) had been the sector commander in Masisi and is known as a staunch Bosco loyalist	Para. 2	Here the author reports more moves confirming the Bany2 soldiers' general pattern of ethnic loyalty	

⁹ This column records an alphanumerical number, which has three parts aimed at identifying each chunk along the analysis: 1st part= number of the table in the study (this is table/display 4B); 2nd part=the page number of the table where the chunk is located (on this table, all examples were drawn from page 001 of the table); and 3rd part=the chunk's rank on the page where it is located (here the three examples are respectively no. 1, 2, and 3 on the table). This alphanumeric number may be used to represent the chunk in a matrix or diagram in which it would be difficult to transcribe the whole chunk in its length.

Appendix 5: Contrast/Compare Matrix for PEL/111 & Related Meaning Units

Sheet page...1...of...1...

Theme/Subtheme Definition:

Chunk Analytical Identifier	Chunks/Meaning Units	Text & In-Text location	Comments/Preliminary Analyses/Interpretations
5B/002/01	...the ex-CNDP former 811th regiment commander Col. Innocent Zimurinda (ex-CNDP, Masisi) finally also defected	T1/Para. 3	Explicit and normal pattern of a Muniy2 officer: loyalty to his ethnic fellow (after an apparent resistance to the temptation he finally made the natural move toward Bosco like many others instead of joining the national army's unit).
5B/001/02	A hard core of ex-CNDP (and some ex-PARECO) around Bosco has not been dissuaded	T1/Para. 1	This is a manifest confirmation of the general pattern of Bany2 soldiers' loyalty to their ethnic fellow who leads a mutiny: they chose to stick with him instead of abiding by their national army rules and commanders' instructions.
5B/001/05	...as he [Col. Baudouin Ngaruye] was driving on the road to Bukavu, he took a right instead of following the lake, and ended up joining Bosco - ammunition and all - in Masisi ended up joining Bosco	T1/Para. 2	This move contradicted the preceding one that this officer made beforehand toward the national army headquarters in Goma: the first move of apparent loyalty to the government and national army appears to have been a fake one and a strategy to acquire ammunition for the rebellion.

NB. After or beneath this display/table, give (a) paragraph/s or (a) section/s of second level analyses of chunks/meaning units to expand more on first-level analyses provided in the last column of the display/table

Appendix 6: Verification Matrix for a Code or Sub-code Negative Evidences¹⁰

Sheet page...1...of...1....

Theme/Subtheme Definition/Meaning:

Negative Meaning:

Chunk Analytical Identifiers	Chunks/Meaning Units	Text & In-Text location	Chunks with negative or rival evidences	Text & In-Text location	Preliminary Analytical Comments
5B/001/03 vs. 5B/001/01	Defection toward Bosco: Over the weekend, several additional officers deserted army ranks to join Bosco	T1/Para. 2	...troops re-defecting back to the government	T1/Para. 1	By "re-defecting back to the government" these Bany2 soldiers showed loyalty to the national army in contradiction with the pattern of Bany2 soldiers' ethnic loyalty
5B/001/03 vs. 5B/001/04	Defection toward Bosco: Over the weekend, several additional officers deserted army ranks to join Bosco	T1/Para. 2	...as the mutiny sputtered out, he [Col Baudouin (ex-CNDP, Masisi)] had come to Goma and had agreed to be redeployed to South Kivu	T1/Para. 2	Another manifest act of loyalty to the national army in opposition to the pattern of loyalty to Bosco and to the theme/subtheme

¹⁰ Unlike in the Contrast/Compare Matrix (Appendix 5) in which chunks are compared to themes in the coding frame, in the Verification Matrix (Appendix 6), two chunks are contrasted/compared between them to reveal some contradictions.

					meaning
--	--	--	--	--	---------

Appendix 7: Example (a sketch) of an Outline of the Research Report

Adapted from Kibiswa (2015, pp. 5-10, 27-85, 171-176, 200-2019, 421-428)

1. The Study Background

- 1.1. Context of the study
- 1.2. The research problem
- 1.3. The research purpose
- 1.4. The Study Argument
- 1.5. The Research Questions
- 1.6. Chapter Summary

2. Literature Review

- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2. The Study's General Framework
- 2.3. The Study's Specific Framework
- 2.4. The DRC Conflict and the Bany2
- 2.5. Chapter Summary

3. The Study Methodology/The Research Process

- 3.1. Introduction
- 3.2. Phase One: Early Steps, or Preparation Phase
 - 3.2.1. Step 1: Developing the Coding Frame and Operational Definitions
 - 3.2.2. Step 2: Sampling Materials/Texts to Be Analyzed and Selecting the Unit of Analysis
 - 3.2.3. Step 3: Getting a Sense of the Data
- 3.3. Phase Two: In-depth Phase of Analysis, or Data Analysis Phase
 - 3.3.1. Step 4: Data Coding and Organization
 - 3.3.2. Step 5: Making Connections, Interpreting Them and Drawing Conclusions
 - 3.3.3. Step 6: Verifying Interpretations' Plausibility and Discussing Trustworthiness
- 3.4. Phase Three: Reporting the Analysis Process and Results, or the Final Phase
 - 3.4.1. Step 7: Making an Appropriate Outline for a Detailed Presentation
 - 3.4.2. Step 8: Thick Description of the Research History and Findings
- 3.5. Ethics and Reflexivity
 - 3.5.1. The Researcher and Other Peoples
 - 3.5.2. The Researcher and the Study
 - 3.5.3. Challenges and Responses

4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

- 4.1. Introduction
- 4.2. Findings Related to Bany2 Leaders' Primary Loyalty to Their Ethnic Group
- 4.3. Findings Related to Bany2 Leaders' Ethnonationalism
- 4.4. Findings Related to Bany2 Militias' State-Seeking or Secessionist Moves
- 4.5. Evidence of Bany2 Leaders' Secessionist Project for the Kivus

5. Discussion and Conclusions

- 5.1. Discussion on the Research Findings
 - 5.1.1. Discussion on Findings about Bany2 Leaders' Primary Loyalty to Their Ethnic Group
 - 5.1.2. Discussion on Findings about Bany2 Leaders' Prime Ethnic Loyalty
 - 5.1.3. Discussion on Findings about Bany2 Leaders State-Seeking Nationalism
- 5.2. Discussion on Negative Cases
 - 5.2.1. Negative Evidence about Bany2 Leaders' Prime Ethnic Loyalty
 - 5.2.2. Negative Evidence about Bany2 Leaders State-Seeking Nationalism
- 5.3. Discussion on Unexpected Findings
 - 5.3.1. Poor leadership and Top Leaders' Complicities
 - 5.3.2. Poor management of the Integration and Demobilization Process
- 5.4. Chapter Summary

6. The Study Results and Conclusions

- 6.1. A Snapshot of the Study
- 6.2. Bany2 Militias are Loyal to Their Ethnic Group/Rwanda at the Expense of the DRC
- 6.3. Bany2 Militias Seek an Independent State, Not a United Federal Nation
- 6.4. The Study and Its Results' Appraisal

- 6.4.1. The Study Results' Trustworthiness
- 6.4.2. The Study Results' Limitations
- 6.4.3. The Study Results' Contribution to the field of the Study
- 6.4.4. The Study Results' Implication
- 6.4.5. Direction for the Future

Appendix 8: Examples of a Thick Description of Research History and Findings

Excerpts and adaptations from Kibiswa (2015, pp. 27, 85, 89, 172-173, 200-201, 425-428)

(...)

The Study Background

In this first part the basics of the study are presented in three chapters. The first chapter is the general introduction that gives the context of the study as well as the research problem, purpose, argument, and questions. It closes with an outline of the whole study. The second chapter presents a short review of literature, which includes the general and the specific frameworks of the study. Also, it surveys literature on the DRC conflict background. The third chapter describes the methodology of the study. ...

(...)

The Study Methodology

In this chapter, the study gives details of its methodology, the directed qualitative content analysis (DQICA). First, it defines content analysis in qualitative research and presents approaches to qualitative content analysis in general, that is, the inductive and deductive content analysis. Then it defines the DQICA and presents the eight steps of the specific approach taken for this research. ...

(...)

Data Analysis and Interpretation

In the following chapters the study presents and analyzes data or evidence collected from literature, as they match subthemes, or subcategories pre-defined in the coding frame (Appendices 1A and 1B). According to the study methodology, chapters in this part disclose text passages or chunks (i.e., in-text verbatim quotes and verbatim block quotes in the form of sentences or set of sentences, that is, paragraphs) whose manifest contents matched definitions set forth in the study's operational coding frame (Appendix 1B) for each pre-defined (sub) categories. Text passages *aka* meaning units that matched definitions set forth in the operational coding frame are *positive evidence* or proof of the existence in documents considered of the existence of warlike elements advanced by theories espoused in this study as valid explanations for the repeated fighting in the Kivus. They confirm the actuality of warlike patterns defined by those theories in Bany2 militias' behaviors and background. Positive evidence or findings consist of verbatim quotes containing war-causing or war-sustaining elements that support this study's explanation for the DRC conflict intractability, that Bany2 militias' repeated fights are primarily driven by their ethno-nationalistic ambitions to proclaim the Kivus as an independent nation-state under their exclusive and total control ...

(...)

Evidence of Bany2 Militias' Primary Loyalty to Their Ethnic Community

In response to the first research question formulated from Van Evera's (1998) first characteristic of nationalism, namely whether Bany2 leaders display primary loyalty to their ethnic group/community, data collected confirm that Bany2 leaders give prime or supreme loyalty to their ethnic group/community. *Abanyarwanda* traditionalists *aka* Rwandan nationalists (D'Hertefeldt, 1964, pp. 227, 228) who fled to and settled in the present day DRC before, during, and after the Hutu Social Revolution in Rwanda (1959-1961) struggled to assert their ethnic identity in that new nation ...

(...)

Evidence of Bany2 Militias' State-Seeking, or Secessionist Moves

In response to the second research question, namely whether Bany2 militias' actions reveal their secessionist moves, data collected clearly confirm that Bany2 leaders' deeds indeed betray their desire to establish an independent state in the eastern DRC...

This section presents first a summary of key finding revealing the secessionist project, and second, open statements by actors promoting a Bany2-controlled autonomous state in the Kivus.¹¹ It then exposes facts from

¹¹ As already mentioned, in general, Bany2 military-political leaders are not prone to go public with their secessionist project to avoid losing some supporters among Congolese natives. So, their foreign sympathizers, including some scholars and journalists are those who disclose their opinions. Also, their sponsors, particularly Rwanda avoid publicly addressing the project, as this appears in reports quoted below.

different reports about rebels' deeds, which betray their "unstated" secessionist plan, including their refusal to be deployed out of the Kivus as a strategy to maximize their actual chance of controlling those provinces. A short summary closes the section.

(...)

Synthesis of the Study Results

Overall, answers to the four research questions discussed in the eighth chapter are positive and thus, establish the study argument. In other words, following data analyses, interpretations, and discussions, the study shows that warlike elements advanced by theories that directed the research are indeed present in Bany2 militias' behaviors as reported in literature recounting the conflict in the eastern DRC as well as their background. No negative instance collected from literature considered strongly stands before positive evidence of those warlike elements in Bany2 militias' behaviors, as after juxtaposition and analyses, almost all negative cases are not as negative as they appear on the surface. The following subsections summarize results of analyses and discussions. But before proceeding, Table 9 displays some positive evidence/findings typifying each theory-based theme in documents reporting Bany2 militias' behaviors and actions.

Table 1: Synthesis of Study Results: Positive Evidence by Operational Theme

Operational Themes & Their Definitions/Meanings	Illustrative Findings/Positive Evidence or Manifest Contents of Themes Identified in Documents Analyzed
<p><u>Ethnonationalism First Characteristic:</u> Primacy of Ethnic Loyalty</p> <p><u>Definition/Meaning:</u> Action/behavior/speech or writing that suggests a person/group's tendency to side/team/work with or give priority to ethnic relatives/relationships and/or abide by these irrespective to other responsibilities/memberships and even to the detriment of the latter (e.g. duties toward or relationships with the nation).</p>	<p>...there were tensions between Ntaganda and Makenga due to past differences over Ntaganda's 2009 push against the CNDP's then-leader Laurent Nkunda. <i>But these differences, they said, have been put aside to focus on the rebellion against the Congolese army.</i> As one M23 fighter explained to Human Rights Watch, "<i>Many of us have bad memories of Ntaganda...but we need to prioritize the war against the FARDC (the Congolese army) first. War against Ntaganda will come later.</i>" (Human Rights Watch [HRW] 2012b, section 'Background on the M23 and its leadership,' para. 8, 9).</p> <p>[As result of a meeting held in Ruhengeri, Rwanda on May 26, 2012] <i>All Rwandophone politicians and officers were instructed to join M23, or otherwise leave the Kivus. CNDP politicians have been asked to resign from the North Kivu Governorate...</i> [Hence] <i>CNDP Minister of Justice François Rucogoza resigned...on 2 June</i> (United Nations Security Council's Group of Experts. [UNSC-GoEs] 2012b, 11-13).</p>
<p><u>Ethnonationalism Second Characteristic:</u> State-Seeking, or Secessionist Moves</p> <p><u>Definition/Meaning:</u> Action/behavior/speech or writing that reveals a person/group's yearn for a territory possession or for the highest level of control over any geographic space on the basis of his/her/its identity.</p>	<p>The question now in the minds of Eastern Congolese is this: Is it worth living under the ineffective, irresponsible unitary system under a corrupt regime? Is there any hope for the people of Kivus in terms of security, peace, development, and human rights? <i>Can the DRC as a state secede? There are three levels on which this last question can be answered: 1. the inalienable right of secession, 2. the international law of secession, and 3. the DRC law of secession. All three say yes</i> (Emphasis in the original). (Posted on October 17, 2012 by Akim, Editor, available at http://mulenge.blogspot.com/2012/10/the-future-of-eastern-congo-is-not-in.html).</p> <p>On 23 May 2012, [Captain Celestin] Senkoko¹² organized a meeting, with the participation of RDF [Rwandan Defense Forces] officers and 32 community leaders, mostly CNDP cadres, in Gisenyi at the residence of CNDP member GafishiNgoboka. <i>Senkoko introduced himself as the representative of Kabarebe [Rwandan Minister of Defense] and conveyed the message that the Rwandan Government supports M23, whose new war was to obtain a secession of both Kivus. After showing the territory to be liberated on a map, he instructed politicians to convince all Rwandophone army officers operating in the Kivus to join M23 and stressed the need for M23 to</i></p>

¹² Captain Celestin Senkoko is the Special Assistant of Gen. James Kabarebe, Rwanda's Minister of Defense.

	<p>gain more popular support and begin collecting funds. (UNSC-GoEs 2012b, 12).</p> <p><i>Prior to the November 2011 elections, one of the most senior intelligence officers within the Rwandan government discussed with me [Steve Hege] several possible scenarios for the secession of the eastern Congo. Reflecting the thinking of many of his colleagues, he asserted that because the Congo was too big to be governed by Kinshasa, Rwanda should support the emergence of a federal state for the eastern Congo. He said, ‘Goma should relate to Kinshasa in the same way that Juba [South Sudan] was linked to Khartoum,’ prior to the independence of South Sudan... Not surprisingly, Rwanda has openly aided and abetted self-declared Congolese secessionists such as Jules Mutebutsi, Akim Muhoza, and Xavier Ciribanyaso as to set the bar high enough to position federalism eventually as an acceptable compromise. On the day that M23 reached Goma, Rwandan government media surrogates began demanding the ‘right of self-determination.’ (Hege, 2012, pp. 6-7).</i></p>
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Author Note

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